595 /170 cont./ 2. Little betel is chewed by the generation that is now thirty-five to forty years of age or younger.

[178 276]

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife is lazy with the cooking."

/171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with [593] monogamously married women. They make sure that the meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well [574] entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of cases this appears to be the first wife.

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared to be the fact that now she would become the second wife because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent, however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not be regarded as his equal.

595 The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason
● 606 why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty.
607 Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

595 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course
606 of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an
607 attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a
[581] lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of
the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage
has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval
and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the
man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry
[554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people."
That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or
else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a
wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a
man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much
organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content
[557] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even
prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage
is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also
rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect little support from his relatives, and only consolation from her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally, and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

565 In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are
595 contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These
men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of
the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more
standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In
general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a
man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is
generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl
[557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then
the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because
in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in
standing.